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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsani women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue. 156
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There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable. [244]

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action. 885
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But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiencies will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of [242]

THE DEVIL

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ λυγώματα) and 'the things that terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)¹. After dark the former beat men and women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk. [752]

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific. If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell, bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step, unknowingly, on the table (πατάς τράβα) which a group of male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountain-side. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically, until she died after 40 days the size of a small child. [753]

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθώοι), particularly children and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person 'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στήν καρδιά), he does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the man's face was black. He said he was Michael Rastis but the shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using [754]

¹ Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. 227

776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
 784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak
 he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil
 the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever
 the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into
 communion with him through speech he cannot resist his
 will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but
 more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of
 a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively
 common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one
 experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
 751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault.
 Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power,
 others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the
 grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil

[207] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of
 St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the
 priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross
 of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that
 is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper
 that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried
 in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection
 for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune
 is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross
 with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with
 the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's
 phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
 [208] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an
 armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply
 the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I
 see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of
 Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to
 sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
 776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
 771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not
 convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between
 God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation
 of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

754 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye
 776 (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἐστὶ τὸ μάτι
 783 διαβολημένο).

754 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this
 152 evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide.

[825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it

[P33] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter.

The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of

[554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράγματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack.

It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger.

It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are

[227] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their

● 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύε' τὸ παιδί νά μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is

● [75] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back

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769 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κάλυβρα), incense,

752 candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

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781 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsani women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.* Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

* Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. 257.

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776/823 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saftanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather resemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776/823 The saftanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 776/821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular

776/821 dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 776/824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under

a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776/824 These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons.

776/824 (487) The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross-roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves 776/824 (1751) (263) (1783) against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with

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751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)

263 44. Because of its preservative properties which
783 analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Tourlouci Máprouci: Hók: Tóprouci, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. *Ibid.*, vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and
windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches
of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible
and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby
ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurriedly departed. But as he approached
a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle
and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these
were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger
with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air
while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of
thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account.

The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[772] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side,"
or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

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776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
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48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans
les poèmes homériques.

776 Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the
772 demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our
776 herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
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776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary"
gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects
were given to children to amuse them, but equally to
protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote
4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other
categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A. I. p. quad.

[771] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology
of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with
the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack
is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood
of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims
begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

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776 must then dispose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
 777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
 (782) and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
 be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
 (787) of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
 dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
 base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. 129.

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
 (538) ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
 for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
 evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Høeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
 regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
 789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
 (753) idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
 natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
 identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
 in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
 circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
 without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
 751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
 789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
 822 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
 845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
 (753) bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
 burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See 'In. TZETZIS: *Expos.* ... vers 88 et 27.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality.

The physician AAEANAPOL in TPAAEEN

I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

'*Textes de la Médecine* : "Anatomie" and "Généc." des Égypt. M. P. G. 88.

(392) The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having warding-off properties; (62)

62. Van der Leeuw: *Ibid.* p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: *Die Aufänge* /sic/ /should read: *Anfänge* /*der Kunst*, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

'In. XPIEOTOMOS M. P. G. 81, 105 et commentaires de E. KYPLAKLOS: 'O *Textes* Xpianismos des Aegyptiens, p. 284. -- N. POAITHÉ: *Ibid.* p. 300 et suiv. -- E. SAPANTHÉ: *Tà poud rē* Epōrēs, p. 89-90, etc.

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likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

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 (788)

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

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The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:

Ibid., A.I. 823.

(237)

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitutes a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

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Fig. 101

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(824) On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

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751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
(230)
(832) 65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

(171)

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. VRAAQUE: Hesperides, 4, 478.

(178) It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who
585 "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.

(178) First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
(185) aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

(176) And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

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widespread belief. See: A. Mftraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transferring the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

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754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are-cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the
(793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism
(789) against the spells. (86)
(755)

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

● (751) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate
(789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
(825)

789 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important
825 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be.
Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber,
iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red
and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani
to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain
cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of
hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example,
the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger
of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Dacoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the
disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor
will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful.
Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces
optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to
work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.
but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with
assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a
concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth,
(121) which increases productivity.

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Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

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One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

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The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion.

Several manifestations testify to this.

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On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

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Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of

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these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

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On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,